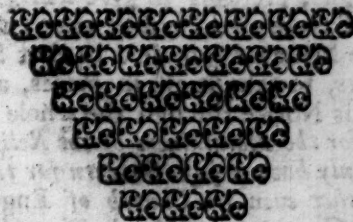


Honest Advice TO THE ELECTORS

OF
Great Britain,
IN THE
Present Choice of their *Representatives*.



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Honest Advice to the Electors of Great Britain, in the present Choice of their Representatives.

THE Advice to the Electors of Great Britain, occasion'd by the intended Invasion from France, seems to be written so very partially, on the Side of one of those Parties, into which that Author divides the whole Kingdom, that it's suppos'd it may be expected, that *some farther, and perhaps better Advice*, may be offer'd to those Electors, which may not be so prejudicial to either Party, and may satisfy those worthy Persons that have the noble Privilege of choosing Men to serve in Parliament, that *there are some worthy honourable Gentlemen in both of them*, very fit and capable to serve their Country. Indeed the Spirit of good Council does not seem to be capable of dwelling in a Mind so fully possess'd with Prejudice, who hath in one Word decided *that of the Tories*, there is not a Man fit to have a Vote in Parliament, as if they were all, in Principle and Practice, in the Interest of a Pretender; meer Foreigners, and wanted to be naturaliz'd, before they could have a Title to that Liberty and Property that every *English-man* is born to; and as if, in Truth, there were never a Free-holder among them all. This is a Spirit so contrary to that Moderation preach'd up, and pretended but lately too, to be preach'd, that One would wonder from whence this Violence should spring up all of a sudden, unless that some Men think, that now those call'd Whigs are generally got into the best Employments and Offices, it should be thought proper to shut the Door, and that none but those of their own Party should be allow'd any Privilege, even so much as to live in the Land.

The Advice to the Electors, pretends to give such exact Characters of the several Principles and Practices of these two Parties, that I think it necessary, in the first Place, to shew some of the Mistakes contain'd in that Scheme; and though it would be too tedious to the Readers, to take it all to pieces, and answer every Line of it; yet One cannot but take this Notice through the whole Design; *That it is the Whigs only that are recommended for the Maintainers of the Religion, Liberty, and Property of their Country; that they only have a just Concern for the common Good and Welfare of their fellow Subjects; and that even the Church of England, as by Law establish'd, is only safe in their Hands.* On the other Hand, *That the Tories have no other Interest, but the Destruction of Liberty and Property; that their Principles are inconsistent with all human Society, and tending to the Persecution and Ruin of all that are not of their own Mind.* So that, in a Word, the first here mention'd, are represented like Angels, rather than Men, cloath'd with all Perfections and Vertues, and even assist'd with Infallibility too; and the latter as a Pack of Rogues and Villains, or rather Devils not to be endur'd amongst Christians.



Let now the Arguments and the Examples, that the Author brings for the Support of these sovereign Dictates, weigh with all impartial Men, as far as Truth will bear them out ; and they are chiefly these : “ That generally the Tories oppos’d the late King’s coming to the Throne, and could not bring their Consciences, without great Difficulty, to own his Government. The Whigs, on the other Hand, settl’d the Crown upon the present Establishment, and have since taken effectual Care for securing the Succession ; they have broke all Measures with the Pretender ; and upon every Occasion, with one Consent, have acknowledg’d her Majesty to be their rightful and lawful Queen.

Now, in answer to this, I will take the Liberty to call to every Body’s Remembrance, that the Whigs neither did, nor could have brought over King *William*, without the hearty Co-operation of the Tories ; neither does it appear, by any Declaration of the Prince of *Orange*, before he came over, that his Highness particularly depended on that Party for serving him.

The wretched treacherous Administration under King *James*, had enough irreconcil’d all Parties to that unhappy Prince ; and amongst other Things, the Severity us’d in throwing seven Bishops into the *Tower*, for no Fault or Act at all, but that of petitioning, did certainly make such of the Nation as were influenc’d by them, as desirous and as earnest to invite over a Deliverer, as any other Sort of Men could be, who then made much more flattering Applications to that King, than any of the Tories did. After this indeed, upon the Point of Abdication, and the Manner of settling that unhing’d Government, if the Tories did not think so suddenly as others, that they had it in their Commissions from you that elected them, to *unmake and make Kings*, it may be said, in their Excuse, it was a new Thing, not practis’d in many Ages before : Their Modesty might make them apprehensive of being too busy in such high Points. But I dare say, that the Principle of *blind and passive Obedience* will not lie long to oppress their Stomachs ; and the Opinion of having more Power in deposing of Kings, and disposing of Government, will easily grow in the Hearts and Heads of any Subjects, if they find the Prince himself encourage such Revolution-Principles. The Tories have always been found, and I believe will still (notwithstanding the malevolent Design of the Advice to the Electors) be a very considerable Part of all Parliaments ; and if they were not as active in the late Ones, as the Whigs were to establish every now and then a new Guard of Oaths for the Security of the Government under King *William*, it may be consider’d, first, that all those Designs sprang rather out of Faction and Self-interest, than Duty ; and that they were occasion’d out of Ill-will and Ill-nature, to another, rather than any real Service to the King, who being supply’d, as he always was unanimously, with all the Power necessary to a King, with Men and Money for the carrying on his Government, both at Home and Abroad, could not in Reality be concern’d for that Feather of *de Jure*, rather than *de Facto* ; and consequently was not extreamly oblig’d to those, who through Flattery to him, had a Mind to give him that Ornament, which could add nothing of true Honour and Dignity to the Office of a King, though it might indeed magnify the Power of them that had made him so.

The Share this Party had in obtaining several good Acts, particularly that for *Triennial Parliaments* ; without which, my worthy Electors, you had not had, perhaps in a whole Man’s Age, the Opportunity of once shewing your Choice, or correcting it within three Years, if you had made an ill one ; and that other Act for the *Trial of Peers*, not as formerly, by a pack’d jury, after the Will of a Minister or Favourite,

but by the whole House of Lords : In which Act the Commons too have new and most valuable Privileges for the Security of their Lives, never enjoy'd by any of their Ancestors ; are such Instances, and everlasting Monuments of the Concern of this Party, who were taken Notice of to be the active Instruments in these Consultations for the Good and Welfare of their fellow Subjects, that it is wonderful there can be Confidence enough in any Man to load them so soon, after such publick Facts, so contrary to the plain Truth, with the ignominious Principles now charg'd on them in the Advice to the Free-holders.

And now, to carry on the Practice of these Gentlemen call'd the Tories, to the Time of her present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and the Share they had in her joyful Reception, I suppose it will not be disputed, that *that other Disciple* did out-run Peter on that Occasion ; or that the Acts which settle her Majesty's Revenue, and that of his Royal Highness the Prince, were more owing to the good Will of the Whigs, than the Tories. So that I may be bold to aver, that whatever Merit the Whigs may challenge to themselves, for settling the Government in the beginning of the Revolution, the Tories had not less in limiting the Succession in the Protestant Line, and the illustrious House of Hannover ; for they were then some of them in the Administration of Affairs ; and it cannot be taken from them, without an apparent Injury to Truth, that they were the first that establish'd the Revolution, by cutting out all Papists from the Hopes of succeeding to the Crown, and to carry this Security as far as the Nature of any Thing that depends on Futurity, is capable of. These very Tories now represented so unworthy, to have a Share in the Service of their Country, did but lately, within a Year or two, use all Endeavours and Instances imaginable, to have address'd the Queen, that since it hath not pleas'd God to give us a present Prospect of a Successor from her own Royal Person, there might be one of the next in Succession of the House of Hannover, always attending her Majesty's Person and Court, as the most probable Means to prevent the Invasion of a Pretender, or at least to frustrate and disappoint his Designs, and as the best Security to her Majesty's Royal Person from any such Danger.

I confess I have often wonder'd how Men of any Principles in England, except the Papists and Non-jurors, could oppose so plain, so necessary, and so prudent a Proposition ; and I hope I may be pardon'd for saying, " That such as did so, may as reasonably fall under the Suspicion of being careful not to make their Case desperate with the Pretender, nor their Reconciliation with him impracticable ; as the Author of the Advice hath directly charg'd " the Tories to have been, when the Associations and Abjurations were transacting.

One Thing more let me remember, for the Honour of the Tories, and for their farther Vindication from the foul Aspersions laid on them by the Author of the Advice. I beseech you, who was it that drove on with most Resolution and Steadiness, the disbanding of the Army in the late King's Reign ? There were then Arts and Endeavours, Threatnings and Perswasions, enough us'd, to preserve on foot greater Numbers of Land Forces, than the Parliament at that Time had declar'd in their Resolutions, fit to be maintain'd in Time of Peace ; besides some other Practices, that some of those Forces might have consisted of a good Body of Foreigners. And I affirm, that in the withstanding that violent Inclination, to a greater standing Force, there was, at least, as much owing to the Tories then in the Parliament, as to any others ; nay, the Tories had the Honour to lead on always in those reasonable Disputes, for the Support of the Laws, and the Preservation of the Liberties of the People.

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The Design then of keeping a standing formidable Force within the Kingdom, could not but be dangerous to the Liberties of *England*, though in the Hands of a Deliverer from Popery and Slavery: And on this Occasion, *the Tories did turn old Whigs*, if it be the indelible Principle of the Whig to be the Assertors of the Peoples Liberties; and *the Whigs did turn Tories* too, if it be the Character of a Tory, to be the Tools of arbitrary Power: For the Whigs, that is, many of them, were willing to give Hopes, and to flatter the strong Desires of that King, and came not into the Heat and Burden of that Controversy, but at the last Hour of the Day, when they found they could not support their Credit in the Nation, if they had kept out from having a Share in that honest, and truly old *English* Resolution and Principle; and by this the Readers may see, that it is but an Imposition upon Mens Understanding, to proclaim, *That some Courts have always acted wrong, and others right*, when there could not be a wronger Step made in any Court, than this last mention'd must needs be own'd to be by all impartial Judges.

The Author of the Advice says, "That since her Majesty's Interest is inseparable from that of her Country, those that best carry on the just and glorious War she hath undertaken for the Defence of it, must always, in true Sense and Justice, be call'd the Country Party. I as readily enter into that Opinion, as any Man; but why must that be all attributed to the Whigs? I speak it without Flattery, her Majesty has as many Vertues, as ever attended a Crown'd Head: She has those peculiar ones too, by which we are taught in the holy Scripture, *A Throne is establish'd*. And God has always shewn his particular Favour, and loving Kindness to her sacred Person; and may his divine Almighty Power perpetually protect and defend this his pious, vertuous, and most gracious great Vicegerent, that she may for ever be in the Interest, the Love, and Esteem of her People; and let those very Men, who this Adviser thinks do best carry on this just and glorious War, be alone call'd the Country-Party, or the best and most able Ministers, in whatever inimitable Perfections their humblest Servants and Creatures can invent for them: Let it be said of them, *They are Gods*; but let it be remember'd, *they must die like Men*. However, if they shall happily bring the Queen and the Kingdom out of this War with Honour and Security, may they be prais'd and rewarded with lasting Trophies of their Merit; but 'till that be done, let them not boast in putting on this Armour, as if they had actually put it off: For if it should happen, that *Spain*, which her Majesty and her Allies were once in a Manner Masters of, be not regain'd, and that this Nation must sit down with the Loss of it; if it be not to be recover'd, then let the best Arithmeticians cast up the vast Sums of Money have been given for this very Service, and the best and worthiest Country-men; reckon what Numbers of valuable Lives have been miserably thrown away; and the best Politician and Statesman, compute how much this just and necessary War has brought down the exorbitant Power of *France*, and how far we our Selves of this Island, have extended and enlarg'd our Navigation and Trade, and improv'd the constant Charges we have been at, to any real and lasting Advantage to the Nation; and then let the Honour and Glory of all, go unenvy'd to the Purchasers.

I am afraid of tiring your Patience, my worthy Friends, and will therefore shorten all I can, what remains to be added on this Occasion; for I hope indeed, what hath been said already, has set the great Distinction between Whigs and Tories in a fairer and truer Light, than the Adviser has shewn it; towards which, one Argument more of the Advice, shall be particularly remember'd: "If it be certain, says he, "that some of the Tory-Party were actually engag'd in inviting the Pretender; and
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“ if it is not so much as suspected, that one Man of the Whigs was in the Design
 “ of the Invasion, this Consideration alone, should be sufficient to determine the
 “ Choice of all the honest Free-holders in *Great Britain*.

Now, this Consideration alone, seems to me as great, confident, and presumptuous an Assertion, as ever I met with, pretended indeed to be made out of the Principles and Practice of those two Parties; but not prov'd in any Particulars of their Lives and Conversations. This Sort of Argument, does indeed resemble that which the Papists use, for the Conversion of Protestants to their Opinion in Religion. Say they to the Protestants, we hold there is no Salvation out of our Church; you think, though there may be Salvation in ours, yet it is a better and more safe Way to remain in your own. Now, because the poor Protestants are more charitable, and deny not Salvation in any Church that is Christian; therefore, say the Papists, you shall be damn'd for not being of ours. I think, I confess the Argument as above, out of the Advice, that if one Thing be certain of the Tories, and another Thing be not so much as suspected of the Whigs, neither of which ever was granted, is much after this Way of the Papists; and as false, crafty, and Jesuitical. This Advice shall be quoted in one Particular more, and I'll have done. He says indeed, very right, “ That it will be reasonable to enquire next Winter, by what Means, and by what “ Persons, we have been expos'd to this late Attempt. And I think, if he had deferr'd his Censures 'till that had been found out, he had done more charitably, and as prudently too. It seems to me a pretty confident Undertaking in any private Person, to say, what Enquiries a Tory-Parliament will make, and what a Whig one. But I find the Author is pleas'd with this Notion, and seems to exert himself in expatiating upon it. “ The Tories, says he, if they should be of the Parliament, will open the Session with bewailing the State of the Nation, though they secretly rejoice at it; and if there be good Success, yet they will disparage it; they will attack the Queen's Government, and her Ministers; they will carry the Bill against Occasional Conformity; they will repeal the Act of Abjuration; and weaken that for the Succession; nay, 'tis possible they may declare the Legitimacy of the Pretender, and vote him immediately the Successor to her Majesty; for that Matter has been more than once under their Consideration. To this *Prophetick Spirit*, I think very little needs be answer'd; for there's no more Argument in it, than in *Wagers*. However, let it be remember'd, what Party it was, that was always disparaging our Naval Expeditions under the Conduct of Sir George Rook; and then let it be consider'd, whether that Trust hath been better manag'd since; let it be remember'd, what Party it was, that malign'd and worry'd the Earl of Nottingham, at a Time when he was one of the Queen's Ministers; and let the not enquiring farther last Winter into the Management of the War in *Spain*, and the sad Consequences of the Miscarriages there, be a Demonstration, that the Men now accus'd in the Advice, were very far from being desirous to attack the Ministers, even where there appear'd so little Resistance could have been made. But as to the two Bills mention'd, they are wonderful strangely put together by this Adviser. That *against Occasional Conformity*, hath indeed been under the Consideration of Parliament; and was once agreed to in Substance by themselves, as well as others; and therefore not so terrible a Persecution, even in their own Opinion to Dissenters, as is now speciously pretend'd a Matter little thought of at present, as I verily believe.

But the other Bill for the Repeal of the *Abjuration*, 'till now was never heard of any where, or ever came into the Heads of any, on whom it is charg'd; and is more likely to have been a Matter design'd by the Adviser, and his Party, than to be much

at their Hearts, who have done all they could, and more than others would accompany them in, to settle the Succession of the Protestant Line; and to have one of them always within the Kingdom: From whence it appears to be so very improbable, *That the legitimating the Pretender, or the declaring him immediate Successor to her Majesty, should have been more than once under the Consideration of the Tories.* That I presume to aver, the affirming such a Thing, is a Cause less groundless and invidious Slander, it being the most general Opinion of the Tories, that neither the Fortunes, Lives, or Liberties of the most considerable of them, can be safe, but by keeping out a Popish Pretender.

There is one Danger more, as the Adviser says, to be apprehended from the Tories, "That a Peace is likely to be presented to you, if they have Credit in Parliament. For my Part, I take the Peace to be so far off, since the Notes of both Houses last Winter, and their Address to the Queen, that there could none be made secure, 'till the whole *Spanish* Monarchy were in the Possession of the House of *Austria*. That I cannot conceive, what reasonable Ground or Probability, the Adviser could have for such a Thought, 'till a new Parliament enable the Queen effectually to bring to pass what the last only voted. However, when the next Parliament meets, and Enquiries shall be thought seasonable, it may be it will not amiss, to examine, whether there might not have been a reasonable Peace had, after the glorious Victory at *Ramilly*; and whether it were by Whig or Tory Council, that it was not hearken'd to.

To conclude. Therefore all this Matter, which I protest I should never have thought seasonable at this Time, I should rather have wish'd, and hop'd, that Divisions of Parties should not have been widen'd, at least, if they were not to be reconcil'd. I living privately, and very quietly, did hope, that all true *English*-men might have agreed on some main Points that belong to our Peace; I mean a Peace within our Selves, to secure our Religion and our Property, and not to be expos'd after all our glorious Victories Abroad, to so near a *Crisis*, whether the War was not to be brought to our own Doors, and within our Bowels. God defend us! and may we thoroughly search out, how that Judgment came so near us, and why so little was done to disappoint it. Towards this good Work, I should heartily recommend to you my good Country-men, not to make the Distinction you have been advis'd to so lately, and especially not to take the Character of Principles of Tories from any Description the Whigs shall make of them.

There's no Danger, in my Opinion, from *English*-men of Fortunes and Interests in their Country, be they Whig or Tory; but there is a Generation of People coming down to every Corporation, City, and Burrough, known no where, but by the Money they bring with them, endeavouring to corrupt every one to buy your Votes, that they may afterwards sell their own, with their Consciences, if they have any, into the Bargain; that they may enhance their own Price, and grow the greater Gainers in their wicked Traffick; such as get into the Parliament only, that they may get into Offices and Employments; and have no other Measure of serving their Country, but as they may enrich themselves. To have a Care of this Sort of People, and to keep them out every where, were a good Council, and a good Work. Men of Estates of their own, are likeliest to be careful of your Properties, and likeliest to be most solicitous, and to preserve the Peace at Home, that God hath hitherto bless'd us with; which cannot last, if a Pretender can have the least Hopes of invading us. And though I will not say, you should chuse none but landed Men; for Men grown rich in Trade, are certainly very valuable, and very able; yet you must allow me to
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prefs, that the landed Men may be principally in your Consideration, for many Reasons very obvious, such as that they are always to be found; they cannot run away, if they should be tempted to consent to a wicked Thing; they are more answerable to the World, and to their Neighbours: But indeed I have one particular Reason at this Time, for insisting so much on that Sort of Interest; and it is a new one, that never occur'd to me 'till this Winter, when I was credibly inform'd, (and I really believe not without Ground) that amongst the several Projects in some Mens Heads for finding Money, one main one, was, to make a Fund of one Shilling in the Pound out of all your Lands, to have borrow'd a considerable Sum of Money upon. This, I dare say, was more than once under the Consideration of some Party or other; and I don't believe it was the Tories: And there were good Arguments for it, that may be more openly prefs'd another Time, when Funds grow scarce, and the Necessities grow greater: And some Men may make Use of, and urge the Probabilities, that one such round Sum of Money, would at once humble this *French King*, and make a sure and lasting Peace. It is but a Mortgage of one Shilling in the Pound, and it will secure all the rest; and you may be sure there will be effectual Care taken to redeem it, with the utmost Diligence and good Husbandry, as soon as ever there is a Peace. Now, I leave it to you, Gentlemen, the Electors, whether these Arguments, and others to this Purpose, are not more likely to prove ineffectual in a House of Commons, that shall consist principally, and for the most part, of Landed Men, than where there should happen to be a great Body in another Interest?

Let not the Adviser think, that because many other Particulars mention'd in his Paper, have not been taken Notice of in this, the omitting them, hath proceeded from any Difficulty to have confuted them: For I protest, they seem'd to me so trivial in themselves; so unjust and presumptuous Assertions, without any Colour of Truth, that I was unwilling to exceed the Bounds proper for this Paper; or to exercise the Patience of the Reader, by taking Notice of such Things, as deserve not the Trouble of any Answer.



F I N I S.

